

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 04 GENEVA 07262

EXDIS

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF MAY 10, 1978
(SALT TWO-1734)

SEMENOV STATEMENT, MAY 10, 1978

TODAY THE USSR DELEGATION WILL ADDRESS THE ISSUES
INVOLVED IN LIMITATIONS ON HEAVY BOMBERS UNDER ARTICLE II,
PAR. 3, OF THE DRAFT TREATY.

AS A RESULT OF LENGTHY AND CONCRETE DISCUSSIONS, IN
ESSENCE WE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN BRINGING THE APPROACHES OF
THE SIDES CLOSE TOGETHER ON IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF THE SOLU-
TION OF THIS QUESTION.

THE SIDES AGREE THAT HEAVY BOMBERS CURRENTLY INCLUDE
TUPOLEV-95 AND MYASISHCHEV FOR THE USSR, AND B-52 AND B-1
FOR THE U.S.

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IN EFFECT THERE IS A COMMON VIEW CONCERNING INCLUSION
AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS IN THE FUTURE OF CORRESPONDING TYPES
OF BOMBERS WHICH WOULD BE SIMILAR OR SUPERIOR TO CURRENT
TYPES OF HEAVY BOMBERS. INCLUSION OF SUCH NEW TYPES OF
BOMBERS AS HEAVY BOMBERS WOULD BE THE SUBJECT OF CONSULTA-
TION BETWEEN THE SIDES ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. THE
CRITERIA TO BE USED IN THIS CONNECTION MUST BE AGREED

UPON IN THE SCC.

THERE IS AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE THAT IN THE FUTURE HEAVY BOMBERS WOULD ALSO INCLUDE TYPES OF BOMBERS EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES WITH A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS. IN THIS CONNECTION IT IS NECESSARY TO CLARIFY THE DEFINITION OF THE TERM "BOMBERS"; CLEARLY, THIS CANNOT BE DIFFICULT, WHETHER IN TERMS OF SUBSTANCE OR TERMINOLOGY.

THE POSITIONS HAVE ALSO CONVERGED REGARDING INCLUSION OF BOMBERS EQUIPPED FOR LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES AS HEAVY BOMBERS ON THE BASIS OF THE "TYPE RULE." THE SOVIET SIDE PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT THIS RULE, INITIALLY PROPOSED BY THE U.S. SIDE, MUST BE CONSISTENTLY EMBODIED IN THE RELEVANT FORMULATIONS OF THE DRAFT.

THIS PROVIDES A BROAD BASIS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE WORK AIMED AT REACHING FULL AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS CONCERNING LIMITATIONS ON HEAVY BOMBERS.

STILL REMAINING POINTS OF DIFFERENCE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED BY THE SIDES AT LENGTH AND IN DETAIL. THIS MADE IT POSSIBLE TO CLARIFY VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE MATTER AND TO OUTLINE POSSIBLE WAYS OF REACHING MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT ON THE REMAINING ISSUES ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY.

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L. I. BREZHNEV, CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR AND GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU, RECENTLY NOTED THAT BY JOINT EFFORTS WORK ON THE NEW TREATY CAN BE COMPLETED ON THE BASIS OF REASONABLE AND REALISTIC COMPROMISE. THAT APPLIES TO THIS RANGE OF ISSUES AS WELL.

BEARING IN MIND THE COMMON OBJECTIVE--TO COMPLETE WORKING OUT THE DRAFT TREATY ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS--THE SOVIET SIDE MADE A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS, INCLUDING THE PROPOSALS TABLED BY THE U.S. DELEGATION AT THE MARCH 30, 1978 MEETING, WHICH, OF COURSE, CONTAIN CERTAIN CONSTRUCTIVE ELEMENTS.

IN THIS CONNECTION, THE USSR DELEGATION IS UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO TABLE A SET OF PROPOSALS FOR REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE DRAFT TREATY, WHICH ARE BASED ON THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HELD AND TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE AFOREMENTIONED ELEMENTS SET FORTH BY THE U.S. SIDE.

WE PROPOSE THAT ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE DRAFT
TREATY BE AGREED UPON IN THE FOLLOWING WORDING:

"PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II OF THE TREATY

3. HEAVY BOMBERS INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF
BOMBERS:

(A) CURRENTLY, FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST

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REPUBLICS, TUPOLEV-95 AND MYASISHCHEV, AND FOR THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA, B-52 AND B-1;

(B) IN THE FUTURE, TYPES OF BOMBERS WHICH CAN CARRY
OUT THE MISSION OF A HEAVY BOMBER IN A MANNER SIMILAR OR
SUPERIOR TO THAT OF BOMBERS LISTED IN SUBPARAGRAPH (A)
ABOVE;

(C) TYPES OF BOMBERS EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES
CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS;

(D) TYPES OF BOMBERS EQUIPPED FOR ASBMS.

INCLUSION OF NEW TYPES OF BOMBERS AS HEAVY BOMBERS
PURSUANT TO SUBPARAGRAPHS (B), (C) AND (D) SHALL BE THE
SUBJECT OF CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE PARTIES ON A CASE-BY-
CASE BASIS."

THE SOVIET SIDE REAFFIRMS ITS EARLIER PROPOSAL
CONCERNING THE TERM "BOMBERS":

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"(FIRST) AGREED STATEMENT TO PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II OF
- THE TREATY

THE PARTIES AGREE THAT THE TERM "BOMBERS" IN THE
PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY MEANS THOSE TYPES OF AIRPLANES
SPECIALLY BUILT TO BE EQUIPPED FOR BOMBS OR MISSILES."

A CLEAR-CUT DEFINITION TO THE EFFECT THAT THE TERM
"BOMBERS" MEANS PRECISELY THOSE TYPES OF AIRPLANES BUILT
TO BE EQUIPPED WITH BOMBS OR MISSILES, ENSURES THE
CONSISTENCY OF THE PROVISIONS RELATING TO LIMITATIONS ON
HEAVY BOMBERS. THERE REMAIN NO GROUNDS FOR DOUBT AS TO
WHY IT IS NECESSARY TO USE THE TERM "BOMBER" RATHER THAN
"AIRPLANE" IN THE PERTINENT CONTEXT OF THE TREATY BEING
WORKED OUT.

WE ARE ALSO TABLING THE FOLLOWING AGREED STATEMENT TO
ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE DRAFT TREATY:

"(SECOND) AGREED STATEMENT TO PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II OF

THE PARTIES AGREE THAT THE CRITERIA THEY SHALL USE TO
MAKE CASE-BY-CASE DETERMINATIONS OF WHICH TYPES OF BOMBERS
IN THE FUTURE CAN CARRY OUT THE MISSION OF A HEAVY BOMBER
IN A MANNER SIMILAR OR SUPERIOR TO THAT OF CURRENT HEAVY
BOMBERS, AS PROVIDED FOR IN SUBPARAGRAPH 3 (B) OF
ARTICLE II, SHALL BE AGREED UPON IN THE STANDING CONSULTA-
TIVE COMMISSION."

IN THE COURSE OF DISCUSSION IT BECAME CLEAR THAT IT
WAS NECESSARY TO CLARIFY THESE PROVISIONS FURTHER. THIS
IS ACCOMPLISHED BY THE FOLLOWING AGREED STATEMENT OF THE
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SIDES, WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE RECORD OF DISCUSSIONS
CONCERNING THE "TYPE RULE" IN THE CONTEXT UNDER CONSIDERA-
TION.

"(THIRD) AGREED STATEMENT TO PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II OF

THE PARTIES, HAVING AGREED THAT EVERY BOMBER OF A
TYPE INCLUDED IN PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II IS TO BE
CONSIDERED A HEAVY BOMBER, FURTHER AGREE THAT:

(1) AIRPLANES WHICH OTHERWISE WOULD BE INCLUDED AMONG
BOMBERS OF A HEAVY BOMBER TYPE WILL NOT BE CONSIDERED TO
BE BOMBERS OF A HEAVY BOMBER TYPE IF THEY HAVE
FUNCTIONALLY-RELATED OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES WHICH INDI-
CATE THAT THEY CANNOT PERFORM THE MISSION OF A HEAVY
BOMBER;

(2) BOMBERS WHICH OTHERWISE WOULD BE INCLUDED AMONG
BOMBERS OF A TYPE EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF
A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS WILL NOT BE
CONSIDERED TO BE BOMBERS OF A TYPE EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE
MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS IF
THEY HAVE FUNCTIONALLY-RELATED OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES
WHICH INDICATE THAT THEY CANNOT PERFORM THE MISSION OF
BOMBERS EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN
EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS;

(3) BOMBERS WHICH OTHERWISE WOULD BE INCLUDED AMONG
BOMBERS OF A TYPE EQUIPPED FOR ASBMS WILL NOT BE
CONSIDERED TO BE BOMBERS OF A TYPE EQUIPPED FOR ASBMS IF
THEY HAVE FUNCTIONALLY-RELATED OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES
WHICH INDICATE THAT THEY CANNOT PERFORM THE MISSION OF
BOMBERS EQUIPPED FOR ASBMS."

THE AGREED STATEMENT PROPOSED BY THE U.S. SIDE STATES

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EXDIS

USSALTTWO

THAT SOVIET TUPOLEV-142 ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRPLANES ARE CONSIDERED TO BE AIRPLANES OF A TYPE DIFFERENT FROM HEAVY BOMBERS.

IT HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY STATED HERE THAT SOVIET TANKER AIRPLANES DEVELOPED ON THE BASIS OF MYASISHCHEV TYPE HEAVY BOMBERS ARE A SPECIAL MODIFICATION OF AIRPLANES, DESIGNED AND BUILT FOR CARRYING OUT MISSIONS HAVING NOTHING IN COMMON WITH THE MISSIONS FOR WHICH HEAVY BOMBERS ARE DESIGNED AND BUILT.

IN THIS CONNECTION, WE ARE TABLING THE FOURTH AGREED STATEMENT:

"(FOURTH) AGREED STATEMENT TO PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II OF
- THE TREATY

SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRPLANES, AND TANKER AIRPLANES DEVELOPED ON THE BASIS OF MYASISHCHEV TYPE HEAVY BOMBERS ARE NOT INCLUDED AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS AS DMZ

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TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE COMMON OBJECTIVE OF ESTABLISHING EFFECTIVE AND VIABLE LIMITATIONS ON THE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS OF THE SIDES IN THE TREATY BEING WORKED OUT, AND IN ORDER TO AVOID ESCALATING THE RACE IN SUCH ARMS, WE PROPOSE THAT A MUTUAL OBLIGATION BE ASSUMED TO LIMIT THE MAXIMUM NUMBER OF CRUISE MISSILES WITH A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS, FOR WHICH A BOMBER CARRYING SUCH MISSILES COULD BE EQUIPPED FOR ONE OPERATIONAL MISSION:

"(FIFTH) AGREED STATEMENT TO PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II OF
- THE TREATY

THE PARTIES AGREE THAT EACH HEAVY BOMBER AS DEFINED IN PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II OF THE TREATY SHALL NOT BE EQUIPPED FOR MORE THAN 20 CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS FOR ONE OPERATIONAL MISSION."

THE U.S. SIDE HAS REPEATEDLY STATED THAT IN THE EVENT THAT B-52 HEAVY BOMBERS ARE EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES WITH A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS, THE U.S. WOULD NOT BE PREPARED TO AGREE THAT ALL B-52 HEAVY BOMBERS BE CONSIDERED AS EQUIPPED FOR SUCH MISSILES. THE

U.S. DELEGATION'S STATEMENT AT THE MARCH 30, 1978 MEETING ALSO EMPHASIZED THAT B-52 HEAVY BOMBERS EQUIPPED FOR LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES WILL BE DISTINGUISHABLE FROM B-52 HEAVY BOMBERS NOT EQUIPPED FOR SUCH MISSILES. IT CANNOT BE DENIED THAT THIS IS A RATHER COMPLICATED ASPECT.

GUIDED BY THE AFOREMENTIONED OBJECTIVES, AND CONTINGENT UPON ACCEPTANCE BY THE U.S. SIDE OF THE FOURTH SECRET

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AGREED STATEMENT TO ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE DRAFT TREATY, CONCERNING SOVIET TUPOLEV-142 ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRPLANES, AND SOVIET TANKER AIRPLANES DEVELOPED ON THE BASIS OF MYASISHCHEV TYPE HEAVY BOMBERS, AND CONTINGENT UPON ASSUMPTION OF A MUTUAL OBLIGATION ON LIMITING THE MAXIMUM NUMBER OF LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES FOR WHICH A HEAVY BOMBER MAY BE EQUIPPED FOR ONE OPERATIONAL MISSION, UNDER THE FIFTH AGREED STATEMENT TO ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE DRAFT TREATY, THE SOVIET SIDE STATES THAT IT IS READY TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE FOLLOWING AGREED STATEMENT TO THAT PARAGRAPH:

“(SIXTH) AGREED STATEMENT TO PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II OF
- THE TREATY

THE PARTIES AGREE THAT CURRENT BOMBERS OF A TYPE EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS MUST HAVE EXTERNALLY OBSERVABLE FEATURES WHICH DISTINGUISH THEM FROM SIMILAR BOMBERS OF A TYPE NOT EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS AND NOT SUBJECT TO BEING COUNTED WITHIN THE AGGREGATE NUMBER PROVIDED FOR IN PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE V OF THE TREATY.”

THE SOVIET SIDE IS AWARE OF THE ASSURANCE GIVEN BY THE U.S. SIDE TO THE EFFECT THAT CRUISE MISSILES WITH A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS WILL NOT FIT EXISTING SRAM ROTARY LAUNCHERS ON B-52 HEAVY BOMBERS. WE HOPE TO RETURN TO THIS QUESTION DURING FURTHER DISCUSSIONS.

SUCH IS THE INTEGRAL NEW PROPOSAL OF THE SOVIET SIDE, CONSTITUTING A SINGLE WHOLE, FOR REACHING AGREEMENT IN ARTICLE II OF THE TREATY UPON LIMITATIONS ON HEAVY BOMBERS. BEING OF AN INTERRELATED AND SYNTHESIZED NATURE,

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EXDIS

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AND INCORPORATING THE PROPOSALS OF THE SIDES, SET FORTH
IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, IT PROVIDES FOR A
COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION OF THE AFOREMENTIONED QUESTIONS
BEFORE THE DELEGATIONS ON A FAIR AND MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE
BASIS.

WE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE U.S. SIDE WILL
CAREFULLY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY STUDY THE PROPOSALS TABLED,
AND THAT IN THE NEAR FUTURE THE DELEGATIONS WILL BE ABLE
TO COMPLETE REACHING AGREEMENT ON THIS IMPORTANT RANGE OF
ISSUES. EARLE

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